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1. In view of the naturally close ties between the Germans and the PRONAL group, our position has been that ZIPPER is theoretically a logical medium of penetration of that group. In practice, however, we do not seem likely to obtain detailed or even unbiased information by this means. This past fall, *Kod WERNER*, now ZIPPER's field expert on Czechoslovakia, for a study of the PRONAL movement. (WERNER, a Sudeten German, claims to know personally the leading figures of that movement here in Germany.) The result was the enclosure, which is not a study, despite its guttering of facts, but a biased piece of propaganda. The paper was prepared jointly by WERNER and BOSCHKE, the ZIPPER headquarters desk man for the GDR.

2. The past record of these two men, and of WERNER especially, is undistinguished. Whether the fact that we have had small returns (except for the Bohemia Operation) from our investment in WERNER and Co. results from incomplete cooperativeness or (as is more probable) limited ability, it is nonetheless true that WERNER's past and current strategic work has been deficient.

3. Under these circumstances we should welcome any additional information about ZIPPER-PRONAL ties which might result from Operation FANST. At the same time, a word of caution is in order. Since WERNER works directly under the aegis of the ZIPPER headquarters, it is necessary to be even more discreet in penetrating his activities than in examining those of a general agency.

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The Czechoslovakian Emigration, its Political Activity, with Particular Attention to the PRCHALA Group

(General) Lev (Leo) PRCHALA came from Mähren. He attended the German Gymnasium in Pridak/Mähren and entered the K. K. (Kaiserlich und Königlich) Officers Corps of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. During World War I he fought with Czech groups and was a member of the Czechoslovakian Legion. His attitude toward German officers and men was always very loyal. At the end of the 1920's a serious difference arose between PRCHALA and BENEŠ. The reason for this difference was the conflict between the unequivocal (political) position of PRCHALA and the "Moscow policies" of BENEŠ. In 1930 PRCHALA repeated to BENEŠ, using no words, that he opposed a Czechoslovakian policy oriented toward Moscow because such a policy was tantamount to giving up national independence, as a consequence of which the western culture of the country would be lost. Shortly after German troops entered the Cze., in the spring of 1939, PRCHALA fled to London. In London he established the National Committee, with the following program:

- 1) A Catholic-Christian basis, in the sense of the West.
- 2) Autonomy and independent decision concerning their own future for all nationalities in Middle Europe, in the sense of a federal union.
- 3) Annulment of opposition to the so-called "Czechoslovakism", because there must be representation for the concept that Slovaks have a right to their own state.

PRCHALA opposed completely the expelling of the Sudeten Germans in 1945, because of Christian principles and political considerations, because he represented the opinion that the old union of these peoples must not be completely shattered.

Composition of the Czech National Committee in London:

Chairman : General L. PRCHALA
Deputy : V. A. BUREK (came from the camp of the Socialists, was a bitter opponent of President BENEŠ.
General : Dr. BODURKA, former National Democrat
Secretary (National Party)

This committee decisively rejected the idea that it should become National-Socialist. It was considered of greater value that leading Socialists should be drawn into the movement and that the National Committee should have a Christian-Social Democratic basis.

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The National Committee in London supports the Czech National Groups in America, England, Austria, and Western Germany.

The chairman of the Bavarian group is Vladimir PRUKA, Munich, with his office at Dachauerstrasse 9/11, telephone 72036. His home address is in Muenchen/Bogenhausen; he lives there as a sub-tenant of the former Czechoslovakian district attorney, Dr. FRANCOVITZKA. A close co-worker of PRUKA is a certain Professor VITKOVSKY who until recently was an honorary professor in Erlangen, where he still lives. According to PRUKA, the PRUKA group in Western Germany is a closely interwoven Czechoslovakian group. Of the some 10,000 Czechs who have emigrated to West Germany, about 5,000 are presently signed members of the PRUKA movement.

In London the Czech National Committee published a periodical in Czechoslovakian with the title Cesky Hlas. In addition, a publication in English is put out in London under the title Pravda (The Truth). The publisher is V. J. BORIL. Recently a new newsletter of the Czech National Group in Germany has appeared under the title Schlag. Responsible for its contents is V. PRUKA. Editorial and administrative offices are at Dachauerstrasse 9, Munich 3.

The former Czechoslovakian Minister of Agriculture, CHRYST, now living in Washington, is attempting to bring together those emigrant Czechs who belonged to what was formerly the largest Czechoslovakian political party, the Agrarian Party. (This party was prohibited by President BENEŠ in 1945.) The CHRYST group has as yet taken a position in respect to the return of the Sudeten Germans.

In Washington is another group which calls itself "Council for a Free CSH". This group is led by the former Mayor of the city of Prague, Dr. FRANCOVITZKA (CHRYST follower), by the former Minister, MAJANIK (Social Democrat), and by the well-known Dr. FRANCOVITZKA, who is in Paris most of the time. These three men were members of the BENEŠ government from 1945 to 1948, created and signed the laws expelling the Sudeten Germans, and imposed on the Czech people the well-known "murder orders" (Mordbefehle). These three men are the co-authors of the Moscow-orientated performance of the BENEŠ government and are in the eyes of the PRUKA group major offenders to the meaning of the Ehrenberg trials and chiefly responsible for the destruction of democratic Czechoslovakia, because they brought the Russians into the CSH.

The PRUKA people cite the following episode, which occurred in 1945 and which indicates the character of Dr. RIFKA:

There was a conflict in the former Czech parliament between the communists and the citizens parties, the latter constituting the former National Front. This conflict concerned the question of who deserved to claim the greatest credit for the expelling of the Sudeten Germans. In a fiery speech Dr. RIFKA declared before the parliament that in 1941, 1942,

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and 1943, in conferences held in London and Washington with competent Federal authorities, he had created the basis for the expelling of the Germans. The same Dr. RIFKA was received about three weeks ago in Strasbourg by Churchill and a few other English conservatives. In these circles he represented himself as a martyr to the cause of Czechoslovakian democracy and the Czech people, and allowed himself to be celebrated as such.

The delegate to the Bundestag at Bonn, ^{from} SCHWARTZ of Munich (GDM), a Sudeten German, who also took part in the proceedings of the European Council, as a delegate in Strasbourg, was thereafter received by Churchill and Mr. WILSON. SCHWARTZ stated that it was erroneous to recognize as a representative to a council representing a neutral European concept the man who dug the grave for morality and democracy in Middle Europe. Mr. WILSON replied that he would dispatch his advisers for Middle Europe to Bonn, in order also to clarify this question in detail.

The agreement between the Czech National Committee in London and the Working Committee for the Preservation of Sudeten German Interests, in Munich...

This Working Committee (Arbeitsgemeinschaft) for Protection of Interests of the Sudeten Germans was founded in 1947 in Munich. The announced purpose of this working committee is the handling of all questions of foreign policy as these questions relate to the property of Sudeten Germans. In such states as Norway there are more than three and a half million members. This working committee is a democratic committee and when in session represents all political parties. Leaders are the following:

- 1) Dr. R. LODGMANN v. d. Auen, Freising, Lager Kindergarten, leader of the Sudeten German association of compatriots.
- 2) Hans SCHWARTZ, Munich 15, Sahmbergstr. 2, delegate to the Bundestag (GDM).
- 3) Richard REITZNER, Haar bei München, delegate to the Bundestag (G. P. D.).

Dr. LODGMANN was the democratically elected chief delegate from Bohemia in 1918 - 1919. In spite of his advanced age (75 years), he is remarkably active - in fact, his activity is hectic. Since the end of World War I he has been an eager champion of the right of self-determination for the Sudeten Germans. Until 1935 he was a delegate of the German National Party in the Parliament in Prague; from 1935 to 1945 he was politically inactive. He then held the position of a business manager for the joint administrative association for German towns in the GDM. Since 1945 he has been chairman of the Sudeten German Association of Compatriots in Bavaria; since 1950 he has been chairman of this group at the West Germany level. In July of this year LODGMANN visited Mr. Mc CLOY in order to report about the Sudeten German Association of Compatriots and to transmit, at this time, the text of the so-called Wiesbaden Agreement between the Czech National Committee and the Joint Working Committee (Arbeitsgemeinschaft).

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Earlier history of the agreement:

Because of the fact that a certain "Council of Free Czechoslovakia", composed of outspoken followers of the BERES group, are trying in Washington to convince the Western world that they are the true representatives of the people in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, the representatives of the Czech National Committee under PRCHALA and the representatives of the Sudeten Germans found themselves drawn together in order, for their part, to form a federative committee, by which means it could be demonstrated to the entire world that here could be found the lawful representatives of the total population of the Bohemian-Moravian area. After a preparatory exchange of letters, a meeting was held on 24 and 25 July 1950 in Wiesbaden between Dr. LOUGHMAN and General PRCHALA. In the presence of delegates SCHWITZ and REITZNER the agreement was phrased, and on 4 August 1950 it was ratified by the full assembly of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft and the full assembly of the Czech National Committee.

The most notable points of the agreement are as follows:

1. The decision to renounce hatred and reprisal.
2. Rejection of the principle of collective guilt.
3. In this way a constructive, positive policy, in the European sense, will be built over the Iron Curtain. The oppressed nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain should know that they do not have to choose between the alternatives of the Bolshevik system and the revenge of Germans returning home but that we are far more inclined to underline the abominable events which took place during and after the second world war in order to build a peaceful world in Middle Europe.

To this end the contract is established on the basic principle that both nationalities shall hold a free election at the time of their delivery to determine their future fate according to the principle of self-determination.

The contract firmly establishes the point that it must be the purpose of both parties to fight for the freeing of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia from Bolshevik oppression and to insure the return of the Sudeten Germans to their homeland.

Another meeting occurred on 11 September 1950 in Wiesbaden between PRCHALA and the executive body of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft. In this conference the composition of the federal committee was decided. This committee is to consist of a six-member executive branch and twenty-four members. It shall consist of Germans and Czechs on a basis of parity. Its function is to concern itself, in various sections, with questions of foreign policy, defense, economics, culture, press, etc.

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It is planned that the general secretary will be Herr STORCH, who has been, until now, chairman of the Anglo-Swedish Club in London. STORCH comes from Ansig, formerly in the Swedeland, and emigrated in 1938 to England as an exponent of the Social Democrats. Since then he has become an English citizen.

The Agreement in Practice:

The Wiesbaden Agreement called forth a loud echo in the rest of the world. The Middle European press west of the Iron Curtain took the position, in leading articles, that this agreement was the first attempt to find a democratic solution to the problem of the inter-relationships of the multiple nationalities in the Danube area. Critical voices maintained that the PROHALA movement represents only a small segment of the Czechoslovakian people. On the side of the Swedens Germans, a position was taken as a consequence of several assemblies in which numerous negative opinions were also voiced. The chief argument against the agreement was directed unequivocally against Moscow and meant nearly a declaration of war against the Kremlin.

The majority of the Swedens Germans were in favor of the agreement and are firmly convinced that only by common measures taken by the Western World as a whole will their return to their homeland become possible.

The agreement struck echoes particularly in the other small Danube states; in particular, great interest has been shown by the Ukrainians, the Slovaks, and Hungarians. (A particularly close connection exists between the Arbeitsgemeinschaft and the Slovakian National Committee in Washington.) It is known that the Slovaks fall into three groups: the first and smallest group under the former Czech representative to MO, PAPPANIK, feels that it still belongs to the CSR and belongs to the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, led by RIFKA. The second group, according to the evaluation of PROHALA people and the opinions of 85% well-informed Slovaks, feels that it is part of the movement led by Catholicism and is under the leadership of the former Slovakian Minister SIDOR, presently in Washington. The strongest representative of this group is the former Slovakian ambassador to the Vatican, D'RGANSKY, presently in Brazil. SIDOR and D'RGANSKY support an independent Slovakia within the framework of a federation of Danube States. In this sense they agree with PROHALA and a large part of the Swedens Germans. This endeavor by SIDOR and D'RGANSKY finds its chief support in the Vatican, which has a strong interest in the re-building of a Catholic federation in the Danube countries. Neither PROHALA nor the Swedens Germans nor the Slovaks have particularly close connections to Otto Von HABSBURG. Only the outspokenly Catholic groups reckon with a return of the HABSBURGS. The closest connection, in this respect is between Otto Von HABSBURG and the Hungarian emigration, which has been sought out repeatedly in recent months and weeks, in Germany and Austria, by Otto Von HABSBURG.

All of these nationalities and emigre groups have a firm and joint conviction that the time of small, independent, national states has passed and that in the future a solution can be found only within the framework of

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a United States of Europe. In this sense, all such groups are members of the Western world and deserve special attention. It would be a mistake to leave all of these nationalities, exiles, and emigre groups to their own devices, for they will be purposefully worked upon by the infiltrators and agents of the Bolsheviks.

A great future task is here growing within the Western world.

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